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BUREAU OF  
INTELLIGENCE  
AND RESEARCH

CURRENT  
ANALYSES

(U) CHINA: POSSIBLE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
CHANGES THIS YEAR

Summary

In several interviews with foreign journalists during recent months, party General Secretary Hu Yaobang has revealed that a substantial proportion of current Communist Party Central Committee members--10-15 percent, according to one statement, and about 60 people, according to another--would be replaced. In one interview, Hu also suggested that both the Politburo and the Secretariat would see some retirements as China seeks to rejuvenate its aging leadership and effect a transition to young reformers who can lead China into the 21st century. Recent personnel changes in the central government, provincial party and government structures, and the military seem to have furthered this goal considerably and suggest the possible contours of the Central Committee after this September's party representative meeting.

\* \* \* \* \*

Army, Government, and Party Changeovers Already Made

One of Deng Xiaoping's long-term goals has been to weed out from the leadership aged, incompetent, and recalcitrant leaders and to replace them with younger, better educated, more technologically sophisticated, and reform-oriented cadres. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) especially has undergone major high-level changes as old guerrilla fighters have stepped aside (willingly or not) to make room for remarkably young and little-known men. Nine new central government ministers recently have been appointed, and a large number of provincial party secretaries and governors have been replaced by younger men and women, most moving up within their provincial apparatus.

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#### Top Strata Changes Unlikely

The extent of future changes in the very senior leadership remains unclear. While some retirements and several promotions are likely in both the Politburo and the Secretariat, it seems unlikely that major changes will take place at the apex--the Politburo's elite six-man Standing Committee.

#### Prospective Changes

Central Committee full members fall into three categories, as indicated on the accompanying lists: those who are likely to remain on the Central Committee, those likely to be retired or removed, and those who possibly could be retired or removed. In addition, 26 current alternate Central Committee members are likely to be promoted to full membership and about two dozen young officials are on the rise and likely will gain either alternate or full membership in September.

These categories assume that officials recently retired from a substantive post such as provincial secretary, minister in the central government, or a military position will retire from the Central Committee. The lists also assume that replacements for the most part will be elevated from alternate status or will join the Central Committee either as alternate or full members. Individuals whose age or inactivity suggest that they may soon lose their substantive post are possible retirement candidates, as are elderly or semi-active Politburo and Secretariat members, as well as a few known opponents of the reformers who are assumed to be targeted for removal.

Those likely to remain include recently appointed or reappointed officials; young technocrats; and key reform supporters, even if elderly, who are not expected to retire from substantive posts (such as Wang Enmao in Xinjiang and Yang Shangkun in the Military Commission). Among those expected to be promoted from alternate to full membership, or from no membership to either alternate or full status, are recently promoted provincial party and government officials, a few new central government ministers, and several newly appointed central and regional military officials.

In general, no systematic assessment of alternate members was attempted other than to identify those likely to be promoted. Many of the alternates are unknown or little known.

Prepared by Christopher M. Clarke, Steven Jackson  
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Approved by Louis G. Sarris  
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Possible Changes in the 12th Central Committee at the  
September 1985 Party Representative Meeting

I. Full Members

A. Most Likely To Remain on Central Committee (88):

Buhe - Inner Mongolia governor  
\*Chen Muhua - People's Bank of China president  
\*Chen Pixian - Secretariat and National People's Congress (NPC)  
vice chairman  
Chen Xitong - Beijing mayor  
\*Chen Yun - Politburo Standing Committee member and First Secretary  
of CCP Central Discipline Inspection Commission  
Cui Naifu - Minister of Justice  
Cui Yueli - Minister of Public Health  
\*Deng Xiaoping - Military and Advisory Commissions chairman  
Fu Kuiqing - Nanjing MR political commissar  
\*Gu Mu - State Councilor and Secretariat member, "open door"  
spokesman  
Gu Xiulian - Jiangsu governor  
\*Hao Jianxiu - Secretariat member  
He Dongchang - State Education Commission vice chairman  
He Jinheng - PLA Second Artillery Corps commander  
He Kang - Minister of Agriculture  
\*Hu Qili - Secretariat member  
Huang Zhizhen - Hubei governor  
\*Hu Yaobang - CCP General Secretary  
Ismail Amat - Xinjiang governor  
Jiang Zemin - Shanghai mayor  
Lang Dazhong - Tai minority, recently promoted to CC  
\*Li Desheng - former Shenyang MR commander  
Li Li'an - Heilongjiang CCP secretary  
Li Ligong - Shanxi CCP secretary  
Li Peng - PRC Vice Premier  
Li Ruihuan - Tianjin mayor  
Li Senmao - Vice Minister of Railroads  
Li Ximing - Beijing CCP secretary  
Li Xipu - Shaanxi CCP secretary  
Li Xue - Minister of Astronautics  
Li Xuezhi - Beijing CCP secretary  
Li Ziqi - Gansu CCP secretary  
Liang Buting - Shandong CCP secretary  
Lin Ruo - Guangdong CCP secretary  
Liu Fuzhi - Minister of Public Security  
Liu Zhengwei - Henan CCP deputy secretary  
Liu Zhenhua - Shenyang MR political commissar

\* denotes full or alternate Politburo or Secretariat member.

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Lu Peijian - State Auditing Commission chairman  
Mao Zhiyong - Hunan CCP secretary  
Mo Wenxiang - Minister of Aviation  
\*Ni Zhifu - Tianjin CCP secretary  
Qian Yongchang - Minister of Communications  
Qian Zhengying - Minister of Water Conservancy & Electric Power  
\*Qiao Shi - Director, CCP Organization Department  
\*Qin Jiwei - Beijing MR commander  
Qin Zhongda - Minister of Chemical Industry  
Shen Yinluo - Hubei CCP deputy secretary  
Sun Daguang - Minister of Geology  
Tian Jiyun - PRC Vice Premier  
Tomur Dawamat - Xinjiang People's Congress Chairman  
\*Ulanhu - PRC Vice President  
Wan Haifeng - Chengdu MR political commissar  
\*Wan Li - PRC Vice Premier, Secretariat and Politburo member  
Wang Bingqian - Minister of Finance  
Wang Chaowen - Guizhou governor  
Wang Enmao - Xinjiang CCP first secretary  
Wang Guangyu - Anhui CCP secretary  
Wang Guangzhong - Liaoning vice governor  
Wang Heshou - Discipline Inspection Commission secretary  
Wang Zhaoguo - CCP General Office director  
Wu Jinghua - Xizang (Tibet) CCP secretary  
Wu Xueqian - Minister of Foreign Affairs  
\*Xi Zhongxun - party elder  
Xiang Nan - Fujian CCP secretary  
Xiang Shouzhi - Nanjing MR commander  
Xie Feng - Hubei CCP deputy secretary  
Xie Xide - Fudan University president  
Xu Jiatao - Xinhua, Hong Kong director  
Xue Ju - Zhejiang governor  
\*Yang Dezhi - PLA Chief of Staff  
Yang Rudai - Sichuan CCP secretary  
\*Yang Shangkun - Military Commission permanent vice chairman  
Yang Taifang - Minister of Posts and Telecommunications  
Yang Yichen - PRC Procurator General  
\*Yao Yilin - PRC Vice Premier  
Yin Yuan - Anshan City CCP secretary  
You Taizhong - Guangzhou MR commander  
Yu Hongen - Minister of Coal  
\*Yu Qiuli - Director, PLA General Political Department  
Zhang Aiping - Minister of Defense  
Zhang Jingfu - State Councilor  
Zhang Shou - State Planning Commission vice chairman  
Zhang Shuguang - Hebei governor  
\*Zhang Tingfa - PLA Air Force commander  
Zhao Shouyi - Minister of Labor and Personnel  
\*Zhao Ziyang - PRC Premier  
Zheng Tuobin - Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade  
Zhu Guangya - China Nuclear Society vice president

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**B. Likely to be Retired or Removed (53):**

An Pingsheng - former Yunnan CCP first secretary  
Bai Dongcai - former Jiangxi CCP first secretary  
Chen Bin - former National Defense Science, Technology and Industry Commission (NDSTIC) chairman  
Chen Guodong - former Shanghai CCP first secretary  
Chen Lei - former Liaoning governor  
Chen Puru - former Minister of Railroads  
Chen Renhong - former Jinan Military Region (MR) political commissar  
Chen Weida - former Tianjin CCP first secretary  
Chi Biqing - former Guizhou CCP first secretary  
Dai Suli - former Liaoning CCP secretary  
Gao Yangwen - former Minister of Coal  
He Jingzhi - former deputy director, Propaganda Department  
Hu Hong - former Fujian CCP permanent secretary  
Hu Lijiao - former Shanghai CCP second secretary  
Hua Guofeng - former CCP Chairman and PRC Premier  
Jiang Yonghui - former Fuzhou Military Region commander  
Jiao Linyi - former Hunan CCP secretary  
Li Qiming - former Yunnan Discipline Inspection chairman  
Li Rui - party elder, former Organization Department director  
Lin Hujia - former Minister of Agriculture  
Lu Dadong - Sichuan Advisory Commission vice chairman  
Ma Wenrui - former Shaanxi CCP secretary  
Ma Xingyuan - former Fujian governor  
Qiang Xiaochu - former Jilin CCP first secretary  
Qiao Xiaoguang - former Guangxi CCP first secretary  
Qin Yingji - former Guangxi CCP and government official  
Shen Tu - former director general of civil aviation  
\*Song Renqiong - party elder  
Su Gang - former Guizhou CCP secretary  
Su Yiran - former Shandong CCP first secretary  
Tan Qilong - Sichuan Advisory Commission chairman  
Tan Shanhe - former Urumqi MR political commissar  
Tang Ke - former Minister of Petroleum  
Wan Da - Hunan Advisory Commission preparation group chairman  
Wang Chenghan - former Chengdu MR commander  
Wang Kewen - Shanxi Advisory Commission chairman  
Wang Meng - former Guangzhou MR political commissar  
\*Wei Guoqing - party veteran  
Xiao Han - former Guangxi party and government figure  
Xiao Quanfu - former Urumqi MR commander  
Yang Chengwu - former PLA Chief of Staff  
Yang Di - former Shanghai CCP secretary  
Yang Jingren - Nationalities Affairs Commission, United Front Work director  
Yao Guang - former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Yin Fatang - former Xizang (Tibet) CCP first secretary  
Yu Mingtao - former auditor general

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Zhang Ze - former Shaanxi CCP permanent secretary  
Zheng Zhen - former PLA Deputy Chief of Staff  
Zhao Zijian - former Nanchang, Jiangxi CCP secretary  
Zheng Sansheng - former Jinan MR deputy commander  
Zhou Shizhong - former Wuhan MR commander  
Zhou Zijian - former Anhui CCP first secretary  
Zhu Yunqian - former General Political Department deputy

C. Possibly May Be Retired or Removed (62):

\*Deng Liqun - former Propaganda Department director  
\*Deng Yingchao - party elder, widow of Zhou Enlai  
\*Fang Yi - party elder, science and technology official  
Han Peixin - Jiangsu CCP secretary  
Han Xianchu - NPC vice chairman  
Hong Xuezhi - General Logistics Department director  
\*Hu Qiaomu - party elder, theoretician  
Hu Sheng - party historian  
Huang Hua - NPC vice chairman, former Foreign Minister  
Huang Xinting - PLA armored forces commander  
Jiang Nanxiang - Higher Party School vice president  
Kang Keqing - party elder, widow of Zhu De  
Kang Shien - state councilor  
Li Dongye - Minister of Metallurgy  
Li Menghua - State Sports Commission chairman  
\*Li Xiannian - party elder, PRC President  
Li Yaowen - PLA Navy political commissar  
Liang Biye - former GPD deputy director  
Liang Lingguang - Guangdong governor  
Liao Hansheng - NPC vice chairman  
Liu Lin - Jiangsu Advisory Commission chairman  
Lin Liyun - NPC and Women's Federation official  
Liu Huaqing - PLA Navy commander  
Liu Zhiqian - former Kunming MR political commissar  
Luo Qingchang - central party functionary  
Mu Qing - Xinhua director general  
\*Nie Rongzhen - Military Commission vice chairman  
Peng Chong - NPC vice chairman  
\*Peng Zhen - NPC Standing Commission chairman  
Qin Chuan - People's Daily director  
Rao Xingli - former Hubei CCP committee member  
Ren Zhongyi - former Guangdong CCP first secretary  
Saifudin - party elder  
Song Ping - State Planning Commission chairman  
Tan Youlin - former Lanzhou MR political commissar  
Tie Ying - Zhejiang Advisory Commission chairman  
Wang Chonglun - trade union federation vice president  
Wang Feng - China Central Television director  
Wang Hanbin - NPC secretary general

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Wang Heshou - Discipline Inspection Commission secretary  
Wang Quanguo - former Hubei CCP deputy secretary  
Wang Renzhong - NPC vice chairman  
\*Wang Zhen - party elder  
Wu Quanguo - Daqing oil drill worker  
Xiao Hua - CPPCC vice chairman, former Lanzhou MR political commissar  
Xing Yanzi - Tianjin CPPCC vice chairman  
Xu Shaofu - former Liaoning CCP secretary  
\*Xu Xiangqian - Military Commission vice chairman  
Yan Dongsheng - Chinese Academy of Sciences vice president  
Yang Bo - Minister of Light Industry  
Yang Dezhong - CCP general office deputy director  
Ye Fei - NPC vice chairman  
\*Ye Jianying - Military Commission vice chairman  
Yuan Baohua - State Economic Commission vice chairman  
Zhang Zaiwang - Tianjin People's Congress chairman  
Zhang Zhixiu - former Kunming MR commander  
Zhao Cangbi - former Minister of Public Security  
Zhao Haifeng - former Qinghai CCP secretary  
Zhao Xingyuan - former Liaoning CCP secretary  
Zhou Hui - Inner Mongolia CCP first secretary  
Zhou Jiannan - Minister of Machine Building  
Zhu Muzhi - Minister of Culture

**D. Insufficient Data or No Estimate (8):**

Basang  
Chen Fuhan  
Cho Nam Qi  
Deng Jiaxian  
Guo Liwen  
Liu Zhen  
Raidi  
Xue Zhenhua

**II. Alternate Members Possibly To Be Promoted to Full Membership (26):**

Gao Dezhan - new Jilin governor  
Gong Benyan - Harbin mayor  
Han Xu - new Ambassador to US  
He Guangyuan - Vice Minister of Machine Building  
He Zhukang - Henan governor  
Hei Boli - Ningxia governor  
Hu Jintao - new Guizhou CCP secretary  
Hu Ping - Fujian governor  
Jiang Minkuan - new Sichuan governor

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Jiang Xinxiong - Minister of Nuclear Industry  
Li Chang'an - new Shandong governor  
Li Gang - People's Armed Police commander  
Li Ruishan - Tianjin mayor  
Li Tieying - new Minister of Electronics  
Liu Yi - Minister of Commerce  
Nie Kuiju - PLA Navy deputy commander  
Qian Qichen - Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Song Jian - State Science and Technology Commission chairman  
Wang Meng - writer  
Xing Chongzhi - Hubei CCP secretary  
Xiong Qingquan - new Hunan governor  
Xu Xin - PLA Deputy Chief of Staff  
Yang Xizong - new Henan CCP secretary  
Zhang Wannian - new Guangzhou MR deputy commander  
Zhu Houze - new Propaganda Department director  
Zou Jiahua - new Minister of Ordnance Industry

III. Likely Candidates for Promotion to Alternate or Full Membership From Outside of Central Committee (26):

Chen Huiguang - new Guangxi CCP secretary  
Ding Henggao - new NDSTIC chairman  
Ding Guanggeng - new Minister of Railroads  
Fu Quanyou - new Chengdu MR commander  
Gao Di - new Jilin CCP secretary  
Han Huaizhi - PLA Deputy Chief of Staff  
He Qizong - new PLA Deputy Chief of Staff  
He Zhiqiang - new Yunnan governor  
Hou Jie - new Heilongjiang governor  
Li Guixian - new Liaoning CCP secretary  
Li Jiulong - new Jinan MR commander  
Li Xuanhua - new Lanzhou MR political commissar  
Liu Jingsong - new Shanyang MR commander  
Ma Zhanmin - PLA Air Force Chief of Staff  
Pu Chaozhu - new Yunnan CCP secretary  
Rui Xingwen - new Shanghai CCP secretary  
Wan Shaofen - new Jiangxi CCP secretary  
Wang Tao - new Minister of Petroleum  
Yang Baibing - new Beijing MR political commissar  
Yin Kesheng - new Qinghai CCP secretary  
Xu Huizi - new PLA Deputy Chief of Staff  
Zhang Zhongxian - new Guangzhou MR political commissar  
Zhao Naiqi - new General Logistics Department deputy director  
Zhao Xianchu - new Lanzhou MR commander  
Zhou Keyu - new General Political Department deputy director  
Zhou Wenyan - new General Political Department deputy director

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